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ABSTRACT

Current international communication is typified by flow of information from the northern to the southern hemisphere, dominated by the developed nations in information gathering and dissemination, and intensified by technological advances. The imbalance of communication flow, considered by developing nations as responsible for political, economic, and social problems, has precipitated rigid control of communication in many such countries. Communication can be used to promote world understanding and cooperation, to fuse and cross-fertilize, and to accelerate modernization and industrialization. But communication can raise expectations without always being able to provide immediate gratification. Inevitably, the unfulfilled aspirations for a better life or a better political or social system cause widespread social frustration. Third World nations, therefore, are inclined to reject Western communication models and systems without considering how to modify them to suit their own needs. A balance can be achieved not by excluding alien communication or by rigidly controlling the media through government censorship or ownership, but by judiciously applying the communication immunization theory, in which saturation elicits less and less response. (HTH)

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On The Imbalance of International Communication: An Analysis, A Review and Some Solutions

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ABSTRACT

International communication today is typified by the southern flow of information, from the northern hemisphere to the southern hemisphere, dominated by the developed nations in information gathering and dissemination for the last two hundred years, and intensified by technological advances in communication in the last two decades. The incessant cries of "cultural imperialism," "cultural domination," and "cultural invasion" echo from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America, precipitating rigid control of communication in many developing countries. Communication is, indeed, control, as Norbert Wiener contended. Communication is also a means of affirming and preserving cultural identity and an instrument of national integration; it is the catalyst of modernization and the shaper of the future. In much the same way as water seeks to fill to saturation any void, communication is a worldwide cultural force, inexorably moving to fill information needs.

The imbalance of communication flow, castigated and denounced by every developing country, is considered to be the source of all evils, ranging from the failure of politico-economical policies and erosion of social norms and values to street crimes and prostitution. Nevertheless, the verdict is still not yet in. If Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan and South Korea provide any lesson at all, the imbalance of communication which drastically sped up the pace of modernization would eventually have no ill-effects upon an endogenous culture amid booming economy and prosperity, because it is then capable of developing its own communication infrastructure, employing new communication technology and training its own professionals.

Modern communication technology helps start communication on a snowballing course, emerging and growing everywhere except where political situations deter its emergence and growth. Unfortunately the omnipresence of communication media is usually taken as a sign of their omnipotence, a manifestation of their omniscience. Admittedly, communication is an instrument that can be used to promote world understanding and cooperation, to fuse and cross-fertilize and to accelerate modernization and industrialization. But communication is by no means always beneficial to every society or individual, because it has the inherent capability of raising expectations while not always being equipped to provide immediate gratification. Inevitably, the unfulfilled aspirations for a better life or a better political or social system causes widespread frustration.

This study attempts to illustrate the fundamental problems and to explore the consequences of communication imbalance, and to examine communication dysfunctions in order to provide a set of solutions specifically addressed to the elimination and the reduction of the detrimental effects of communication dysfunction. In the meantime, an abundance of evidence is provided to substantiate the contention that communication imbalance can be eventually corrected, not by control but by the free flow of all types of communications. Japan is a typical example: She absorbed the best and discarded the disharmonious features of Chinese and western civilizations. Further attempts are also made to examine the inherent natural immunity of cultures against alien concepts and cultures. The conclusion is aimed at the battle cries of "cultural imperialism": Much ado about nothing.

The world is undergoing a fundamental change, much more profound than the change brought about by the Industrial Revolution, as it is rapidly entering the information age. "Technological innovation leads to an increase in manpower productivity, lower prices and wage increases which in turn produce large markets and greater employment...The modern era of electronics has ushered in a second industrial revolution...We are entering a period of deep transition which may last from 30 to 50 years before leading to a completely different type of world society with much greater numbers, changed values, new political and administrative structures, entirely novel forms of institutional behavior and a technological basis very different from what we are familiar with today which will influence life styles fundamentally in all nations and all culture". (King, 1982, Pp. 1-20) Technological advances have reduced the world to a global village, and as its consequence, industrial, trade and communication development have made every nation, rich or poor, interdependent. Communication today transcends geographical confine, time and culture. A new form of communication, total and pervasive, whether it is called the information revolution, the fourth or fifth communication is irrelevant, is taking shape. "Total" refers to all modes of communication, audiovisual, print and pictorial, and "pervasive" means the reach of communication to every cranny and corner in the world instantaneously. The integration of the computer and communication devices,--computers interfaced with digitalized audiovisual devices linking with satellite communication systems--accelerated the transformation from the post-

industrial era to the information age. Soon indices for modernization will include a host of acronyms for data bases, computer systems, audio-video devices and satellite systems.

A transformation as fundamental as that of the information age invariably reorients our economy, restructures our social activities and remodels our behavior. But not all is for good. "All technical progress exacts a price;...raises more problems than it solves... the negative effects of technological innovations are inseperable from the positive...and all technological innovations have unforeseeable effects" (Ellul, 1962). There arise many problems, inherent in or coincidental with modernization and communication.

(1) The first problem, the imbalance or inequality in the flow of international communication, is further aggravated by technological innovations in communication.

(2) The second problem, the revolution of rising frustration, has been in the mind of communication students for a long time. Mass communication heightens expectation (Lerner, 1973-74) but is not equipped to fulfill such an aspiration.

(3) The third problem is ethnocentrism. Cultural infusion into newly independent nations invariably resurrects the specter of colonialism or imperialism. Many developing nations have been protesting the one-way communication from the West as cultural imperialism, cultural invasion, or cultural dominance.

(4) The fourth problem is the incompatability between freedom of communication and developmental efforts. All developmental societies are committed to the acceleration of industrialization and modernization,

but they do not have the luxury or patience of tolerating divergent ideas (Nam & Oh, 1973). The underlying assumption that the price the development societies must pay for modernization is the curtailment of communication freedom.

(5) The fifth problem lies in the adoption of the Western communication models and systems: some developing societies adopted them in full and some adopted them with revision and modification, but paid little attention to their applicability.

(6) The sixth problem is the failure to recognize communications dysfunctions concurrent to modernization. Communication in general is purposive and deterministic; it has inherent functions and dysfunctions. Complicating the matter even further, functions and dysfunctions are relative, comparative, and not mutually exclusive.

Communication dysfunctions of various kinds construe the basis of the Third World nations' charges of cultural imperialism and invasion; nevertheless, communication dysfunctions observe no national or cultural boundries. Overall, developed nations confront more severe and serious dysfunctions than developing nations. Instead of accusing the West in general and the United States in particular of cultural domination that "constitutes a menace to world peace and hence to all humanity"(UNESCO, 1980), a developing nation must adopt,of all alternative options, communication immunization.

Hence this paper has two major objectives: first, to explore general problem areas of communications in developing nations in conjunction with the examination of communication dysfunctions; and

second to duscuss and propose a communication immunizations approach and possible counter-measures vis-a-vis the imbalance of communication flow and technology, the instruments used in the alleged "cultural imperialism."

I. An Examination of International Communication Problems

A. The Imbalance of International Communication

Of all the international communication problems the most prominent one is the imbalance of communication as the phenomenon in international communication is characterized by the overwhelming amount of flow of information: (1) from the developed countries to the developing countries; (2) from the northern countries to the southern countries; and (3) from the stronger, bigger countries to the weaker, smaller countries.

The uneven flow of communication is sometimes labeled as "cultural colonization (Lyle, 1978)" particularly by the United States of America, where a great deal of entertainment programs and techno-scientific innovations originated; as Tunstall (1977) says, " America innovates; the world follows" "Information is the basis of culture. The greater the foreign information, the greater the threat to a native or domestic culture... The television show "Dallas" does represent the pervasiveness internationally of U.S. television (McPhail, 1981, P. 244) Some called the phenomenon "cultural invasion" in which the communication flow is not a free form of exchanges, but dictated by the political, military and economic power of the advanced nations. Cultural invasions as alleged, take two forms: popular mass entertainment programs and

control of communication and advertising industries. Even though the diffusion of popular mass culture may bring about "instant globalism," it precipitates an identity crisis and accelerates the rising frustration of the poor masses (Halad, 1978)."For Latin American countries, it is U.S. dominance of both advertising and programs (Beltrans, 1976; Beltrans & deCardona, 1977)." McCombs (1977) presents an even bleaker scene: It is "cultural imperialism," in which potential power and influence lies not in the physical domination of a people but rather in their intellectual domination. Even a modern nation like Canada is not immune from American cultural imperialism."But as a nation, we cannot accept, in these powerful and persuasive media, the natural and complete flow of another nation's culture without danger to our national identity, art and culture - a Canadian nationhood" The Fowler Royal Commission reported (Canada, 1957, Pp. 8-9). Charges are not limited to programming, advertising, and one-way flow, but include "all alien premises, objects and methods, stemming chiefly from the United States of America (Beltrans, 1976)." Along the same line of reasoning, the international structure of domination, i.e., colonialism, is charged as the result of technological advances, in its realignment of power centers, its changed sources of exploitation, and its modern mode of organization and control.

In this sense, the concept of cultural imperialism today best describes the sum of the processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating stratum is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institution to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structure of the

dominating center of the system (Schiller, 1976, Pp. 9). With such a rationale, both Disney products and tourism are considered a form of cultural imperialism (Schiller, 1976, Pp. 10-14).

These charges, real or imaginary, conjure up a frightening picture: The advanced nations which have failed to maintain their dominance with military might as they did in the last century intend to conquer the Third World nations culturally through communication. Anti-cultural-imperialism may be demonstrated by the seven charges made by Masmoudi, Secretary of State for Information and First President of the Intergovernmental Coordinating Council for Information of the Non-Aligned Countries:

1. A flagrant quantitative imbalance between North and South;
2. An inequality in information resources;
3. A de facto hegemony and a will to dominate by the advanced nations;
4. A lack of information on developing countries;
5. The survival of the colonial era;
6. An alienating influence in the economic, social, and cultural spheres; and
7. Messages ill-suited to the areas in which they are disseminated Masmoudi, 1979).

As innocuous as tourism is, it is seen as providing relatively inexpensive diversion to the middle and lower middle classes of the industrialized core nation, as a source of profit to the monopolistic enterprises, and as enlisting further developing a small and active, though parasitic, entrepreneurial segment of the target country, all

for the benefits of the dominant nations (Shiller, 1976, Pp. 14). Although no tourist from North America or Europe can see himself as an imperialist agent, the culprit may very well be technical advances which have indeed turned the free flow of communications into a one-way street. In Shiller's (1974) opinion, cultural autonomy of many nations is increasingly subordinated to the communications outputs and perspectives of a few powerful, market-dominated economies; therefore, ways must be devised to keep native cultures from being homogenized.

Of all these charges the only one that can be readily substantiated is the quantitative imbalance. The disparity in communication resources and lopsided command of both technological and professional leads are the basis of cultural imperialism (Richstad & Sathre, 1977). Based upon Rada's (1980) distinction of three disparities, disparity in the information infrastructure, disparity in the distribution of scientific and technological capability, and disparity related to industrial capability, the cards are stacked against the Third World Nations. The sentiments in developing nations against North American or European dominance are understandable. For example, both AP and UPI accounted for 72 percent of Latin American newspaper stories and their journalistic practices were very much a copy of the North American model (Matta,1979). While the developing countries complained about cultural dominance of the Western Powers, the North Americans at home likewise grieved at the oligopolistic nature of television (Russo, 1969-70). Three dominant television networks and one-newspaper towns are the common features of nearly all North America, except in large metropolitan cities.

Cultural colonization, cultural invasion, cultural domination or

cultural imperialism revives fears in the developing countries where the memory of colonialism is usually still fresh and bitter, but such fears may be entirely divorced from realities. For an Iranian or a Latin American revolutionary "cultural imperialism" is a fitting battle cry; however, he would fail to realize that cultures flourish only when cross-pollinated and cross-fertilized. No indigenous culture has ever blossomed to its fullest potential without cross-pollination. Even the Chinese culture, commonly acknowledged as independently evolved has had continuous cultural intercourses for its nourishment and enrichment. China under Marxism is still very much China; Marxism may have changed her political systems but not her social and cultural heritage. Likewise, the Indian and Egyptian cultures, though dominated by the English culture for more than a century, are still very much Indian and Egyptian, respectively.

Communication as much as cultural exchange obeys the kinetic law of nature (Hsia, 1969). Communication or cultural intercourse flows to the direction where no or very little resistance is encountered, just as water seeks a lower place in accordance with the law of gravity. When and if examined objectively, cultural colonization, despite the unsavory term and implications, generally enriches the recipient, indigenous culture on a long-term basis. Japan has been "invaded" by the Chinese ever since the T'ang Dynasty, but Japan adopted, refined and integrated the Chinese culture,as seen in its tea ceremony, gardening, flower arrangement, poetry, painting, calligraphy, language

teaching, and social values.

Indeed, one should have no fear of cultural invasion or cultural imperialism but fear of no cross-fertilization in cultural intercourse. Without invasions and cultural domination ever since the Roman Conquest, England would have stagnated. Instead, England not only survived but flourished in arts and science. Without the Norman Conquest it is questionable if Shakespeare or the Industrial Revolution would have ever been born in England. Ever since her independence, the United States has been gladly "suffering" cultural invasions everyday in science, literature, arts, and even cuisine. In fact, every nook and cranny in the United States is manifest with signs of alien invasion and cultural infiltration. The French may think of Le Drugstore and Le Weekend as a rape of French civilization; however, the North Americans deliberately set out to taste, acquire, assimilate and integrate bits and pieces of any alien culture. Instead of being "raped," "corrupted" or "exploited," culture independence or cultural autonomy in the United States is strengthened, enhanced, and embellished.

North American culture is as distinctive as the melting pot represented by all hyphenated American cultures: French-American, Latin-American and so on. One may grumble that American pizza is not exactly Italian pizza, American chop suey is unknown in China, American hamburger is really German, and Kentucky fried chicken goes back hundreds of years. All these complaints are, on the other side of the coin, compliments--things, better things, may be originated elsewhere but are integrated into American culture and so refined that they are unmistakably North

American. North American culture, borrowing everything from every known culture, is the sum total contributed by continuous "cultural invasions" In this sense, North American culture can be said to be a synergistic culture, greater if not necessarily better than any indigenous culture.

No North American is ashamed to taste French wine, German sausage or Moo Goo Gai Pan. No Japanese feels humiliated for wearing the kimono, the Chinese T'ang Dynasty dress. Even the quite ethnocentric Chinese have no qualm in wearing trousers, a barbarian attire the Chinese adopted in the third century B.C. Throughout history every society borrowed from others in meeting its needs or survival, whether the borrowing was voluntary or involuntary. The Chinese started wearing trousers because their long gowns with loose sleeves and their flappy-floppy undergarments were no match for the barbarian raiders along the northern borders.

Every developing nation today must industrialize in order to provide the people with a better life; that is possible only through industrialization. Industrialization is in a great measure the adoption of Western technology, and in no small measure the adoption of many aspects of Western culture as well. China has undergone several phases of modernization in this century, vacillating between total acceptance and total rejection of Western culture, a culture centered on technological and scientific development and consumption. But China is still the eternal China, almost irrespective of the extent of adoption.

On a long-term basis, no civilization can be corrupted or subverted from without. A civilization when subject to external influence usually transforms itself within. One may bemoan all the vanishing cultures,

but the demise of any culture never was of cultural domination but of military slaughter. The Jews were dominated culturally elsewhere for two thousand years before the nation of Israel was born. Because of, but not inspite of,its adaptation to many dominant cultures, the Jewish culture not only survived but flourished as manifest in arts, commerce and science.

Charges of "cultural imperialism" should never be lightly dismissed, but gravely answered.

(1) The charge of a de facto hegemony and a will to dominate by the advanced nations is debatable in the light of the dwindling influence of the "dominating" powers the United States, the Soviet Union and the Western European nations. A simple tally of U.S. "wins" and "losses" in the United Nations over the last 38 years would show the erosion of U.S. dominance.

(2) The charge of a lack of information of developing countries is a misunderstanding of the fundamental principles of communication, particularly as related to mass media. Media coverage is dictated by what is perceived to be the interest of the readers or audience. Nor is this particular charge justified if we may ask who is lacking information in developing nations. The people? What should they have? Do the Libyans know anything about the U.S.A.? Apparently not, even Col. Muammar Gaddafi is very ignorant about the U.S.A.

(3) The charge of the survival of a colonial era may contain a grain of truth per se; for example, the Indians and Nigerians still use English as their official language. The reason why English is retained is because the Indians and Nigerians find heuristic and utilitarian

value in the English language to unify their communication.

(4) The charge of an alienating influence in the economic, social and cultural spheres is subject to value judgement. All social and economic ills as shown in the condemnation of blue jeans and go-go music in Moscow or Warsaw, the accusation of the Capitalist Roaders of leading a corrupt life and the economic disruption brought to every developing nation by Western technology are subject to interpretation. A case on the contrary is South Korea, where the alienating influence despite all the ill consequences has built South Korea into one of the most prosperous nations in Asia.

(5) The charge of messages ill-suited to the areas in which they are disseminated is true everywhere, including the United States. "They also love Lucy and get high on Gunsmoke in Mexico City, Belgrade and Kapula Lumpur (Varis, 1974)." Queen Elizabeth II loves Kojak probably because the streetwise detective was such a contrast to the regal manner and royal behavior of The Court of Saint James. The Chinese in Taiwan adore "Charlie's Angels" probably because of their ample, vital endowment. That is what Schiller called homogenization (Schiller, 1974), but homogenization is a inexorable process in mass culture, to satisfy the average taste and to appeal to the massive audience (Van den Haag, 1975), whether homogenization is detrimental or beneficial is subject to the same disputes over the consequences and ramifications of the rise of the Roman Empire in the West and the Ching Dynasty in the East - the two great world homogenizations occurred almost at the same time around 200 B.C.

Another source of irritation for the Third World is that U.S. coverage of the Third World tended to be crisis-oriented (Larson, 1979)

or about sensational, the negative aspects, or the catastrophies, without coverage of the gains in the education, social or humanitarian aspects. Unless there was a catastrophe or a disaster, no Third World nation would get covered in the North American press or television, and violence usually gets prominent front page attention (Charles, Shore & Todd, 1979). It is convenient to forget the coverage of the Vietnam War, the Watergate Affairs, the Three Mile Island incident and all the violent murders covered by the North American and European press about their own world. Normality is never news; therefore, not covered. For the coverage of the Third World, the U.S. press has practiced no discrimination because it treats the U.S. just as other countries.

B. Cultural Mongrelization and Rising Expectations

. Mongrelization, a process of interbreeding of plants or animals, is a disparaging term. Cultural mongrelization first appears in communication literature and is defined as "all citizens of a developing country would come to want the life-style associated with a refrigerator which has hitherto been virtually unknown there" (Richstad & Sathre, 1977) when they saw frequent depiction of refrigerators in popular foreign films. Cultural mongrelization in fact is no more than rising expectations or heightened desire as the result of exposure to new or innovative products or ideas. Innumerable cases can be cited to substantiate cultural mongrelization.

After the normalization of Sino-American relations, the floodgate of communication is opened and American technological and scientific information is pouring into China. Numerous articles have been published in China, depicting a futuristic China far more advanced than what Disney could have dreamed. The result is a typical example of rising

expectations as Lerner cautioned, warned, and exhorted in almost every article and book he wrote or edited. Communication has indeed fermented, if not caused, the revolution of rising frustration because of the rising but unfulfillable expectations. Thus, Richstad and Sathre (1977) argue that cultural mongrelizations might lead to:

(1) Economic disruption and domination because the developing nation can't afford to made its own refrigerators and has to distort economic priorities to acquire them.

(2) Political disharmony because not everyone in the developing country can have a refrigerator and the have-nots want remedial action.

(3) National disintegration because the disharmony reaches the point of prolonged system-wide violence between the haves and have-nots.

But Richstad and Sathre (1977) further contended "However, vived and possible this scenario may be in the minds of many it has badly wanted empirical support. If there is to the presumption of negative effects, then research should be able to identify such effects and their extent and the conditions under which they occur."

No empirical report except unsubstantiated generalization and inference has indicted communication as the diabolical tool the Western Nations used to have wrought havoc in the developing nations. Out of close to 100 monographs on mass communication in addition to an assortment of conference reports published by the UNESCO, none have documented a single case of political disharmony or national disintegration as the result of the free flow of communication.

On the contrary, cultural mongrelization may lead to a constructive channel, as seen in Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore instead of the destructive avenue of economic disruption, political disharmony and national disintegration. Instead of economic disruption,

they have produced more of their own as cultural mongrelization stimulated the motivation of the populace. Instead of economic domination by foreign nations, they have achieved economic independence and enjoy an unprecedented economic boom and extremely favorable trade balance. Instead of political disharmony, they have coalesed diverse political interests. Instead of national disintegration, they have strengthened their national unity. But why?

When sufficient motivation is mediated and generated through communication, a society could accelerate its modernization processes. Cultural mongrelization, despite its nasty connotation, is symbiotically the germination of a new culture, a new value system blended with the existing culture, and probably a new mentality oriented to a new economic order.

C. Ethnocentrism and Communication

Seen from the eyes of the Third World, the specter of imperialism and colonialism lurks behind every episode of "Gunsmoke," "I Love Lucy," "Hawaii Five-O," or "Charlie's Angels." Students of international communication hold conflicting views about the relation between enthnocentrism and communication. From one view the resurgence of nationalism and ethnocentrism is not necessarily a barricade against free flow of information and freedom of communication but a guideline for the selection of information best suited for the nation building. Nationalism enhances group survival, administrative efficacy, and homogeneity; provides greater vigor and persistence in problem-solving; and eases striving against outsiders (Rosenblatt, 1964). From another view ethnocentrism is "at

odds with the free flow of communication "and" results in misperception, heightened differences and hostilities (Burk, 1976) and closes "one's personality (Lerner, 1976)." Another fundamental problem is involved, too:

> The gap between the communication-rich and the communication-poor nations is reaching critical proportions. It is wrenching efforts to improve the flow of information throughout the world, SINCE DEMANDS FOR FREE FLOW ARE SEEN AS PLOYS TO INCREASE THE DOMINANT ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE NATIONS RICH IN COMMUNICATION RESOURCES WHILE EFFORTS TO BALANCE THE FLOW IN THE INTERESTS OF NATIONS WITH INSUFFICIENT RESOURCES ARE SEEN AS CONTROL AND CENSORSHIP. The moves to produce a better global communication system, however that may be variously defined in different parts of the world, have therefore become bogged down in political and ideological confrontation (Fisher, 1982, Pp. 7).

Whether ethnocentrism or nationalism impedes the flow of communication will remain a question for further extensive research. From a historical point of view, communication does wear thin the almost impenetrable ethnocentrism of the Chinese or the Japanese. An optimal amount of ethnocentrism seems necessary to prevent the collapse of the endogenous culture and to maintain its cultural identity in order to assimilate external and exogenous influence, but in the meantime to allow the free flow and exchange of information. The problem in this respect is concerned with what the optimum is. A nation with a deep-rooted culture which is usually high in ethnocentrism is capable of absorbing alien concepts without endan-

gering its culture; whereas a new nation with a shallow-rooted culture which is generally low in ethnocentrism may be also incapable of protecting its cultural survival. Nevertheless, nations seem to possess the homeostatic capability in the absorption of exogenous influence, for example, under the hodge-podge of Chinese and British influence, the Singaporeans and Hongkongnites have built a culture of neither Chinese nor British but entirely of their own.

D. The Dilemma Between Communication Freedom and Nation Building

To build a nation, communication must be under control, but to control communication is to a certain extent to interfere with democracy. Communication freedom and nation building, it seems, cannot co-exist. The dilemma of such incompatibility can be summerized as follows:

> ...When development is apotheosized, there can be little room for freedom of the press which is the antitheses to the planned nature of the developmental effort. In fact, developmental politics seem to be the antitheses of democracy, of deliberation and the long-winded decision-making process...However, danger is inherent in allowing only one voice, the uniform press limited to aiding instead of hindering the developmental efforts of the government. The voice must be maintained under coercion. This may lead to alienation of the populace, especially on the part of intellectuals who have been taught the ideals of liberal democracy. The alienation may bring about frustration which may lead to uprisings to overthrow the government. The result, if successful, may be chaos and, if unsuccessful, may bring about more repression. Therein lies the tragedy to the developing countries (Nam & Oh, 1973).

It may be true in the case of Iran, but Iran is hardly a universal case. All developing nations are committed to the accelerated race of industrialization, but not all developing societies restrict freedom of communication. Before communication freedom can be explored, what communication freedom is must be defined. Sommerlad (1977) raised some philosophical questions concerning freedom of communication.

1. Is freedom of communication essentially an individual right or state right?
2. Does it apply to all types of information or should it be reserved for "correct" information ("correct" apparently in the eyes of the state)?
3. Is freedom of information "indivisible" so that it cannot be limited without being destroyed?
4. Is it not better to rely on the responsibility of the communicators and run the risk of some erroneous information slipping through than to give some authority a power which may result in suppression of information of great public significance?

Freedom of information or communication is a topic every nation pays lip service to, but seldom adheres to. In 1948 the United Nations General Assembly in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights said:

> Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers (Richstad & Sathre, 1977).

National governments have been clearly unwilling to tolerate an essentially unrestricted flow of international communication or to surrender

what they regard as their prerogative to determine the controls that will be placed on such flow (Richstad & Sathre. 1977).

Freedom of information is not a state right, but the individual, human right, as repeatedly declared by the United Nations. It must apply to all types of information and must be indivisible. However, no nation can be expected to relinquish the authorities of control over communication. A certain degree of control, for instance, over pornography, obscenity and others is justifiable and probably beneficial to the society. Leaving the control entirely to the people might be an even better alternative.

E. Applicability of Western Communication Models and Systems

Many models relating communication to modernization have been proposed and expounded for the last twenty years. In the modernization process, the developing nations are inclined to adopt the Western models. For Schramm, where change impends, wherever change occurs in human society, there communication flows (Schramm, 1967). This implies the causality between change and communication. However, stability and the maintenance of the status quo requires communication as well. Lerner related media growth to literacy, mobility, empathy and urbanization. Only after a country reached about 10 percent urbanization was there any significant increase in literacy and so on (Lerner, 1958). However, even though China has had 15 percent urbanization for more than a millennium, modernization is still a distant mirage. Lerner further stated that the closest relationship of media growth was with the increase in literacy; however, it was not a universal case as Schramm pointed out (Schramm, 1967).

Third World communication authorities and scholars question whether

the Western models adopted by the developing countries remotely resemble Western models. Each adopted model is a local and regional version, except its technical parts. Admittedly, communication systems found in Latin America are very much like those in the U.S., and the structure of most African media is not radically different from that in France and Great Britain. Underlying all these is the implicit assumption that only by following the Western models--diffusion, urbanization, mobility, empathy, and literacy--can a society become modernized. Golding (1974) argued that this was a result of unwillingness of the Western scholars to concede a complex history to "underdeveloped countries" but to subscribe to the theories of exogenously induced change; that is, static societies must rely upon outside influence, tools and knowhow to step into modern times. This never has been the case in reality.

Communication grows, regardless of seemingly insurmountable obstacles and constraints. Popularization of radio and to a certain extent TV precipitates and facilitates interpersonal communication, the most important link in diffusion, adoption, and hence modernization. Illiteracy and traditional attitudes are no longer impenetrable barriers. Even without radio, the illiterate can have access to communication through friends or relatives via conversation or other means (Brown, 1970).

One of the fundamental concerns is whether Western communication models are adequate for a multitude of communication problems in developing countries. The adequacy problem may be illustrated by the birth control campaigns in China and India. China has successfully brought down its birth rate, ostensibly through a massive propaganda campaign; however,

India has not yet made any dent on its high birth rate, despite its massive propaganda efforts. China'a success can be traced to her implementation of the old age pension system, popular medical and health care programs, and the liberation of women. All these have obviated the large family, in concept and in practice, and contributed to the drastic success in its birth control. No such factors were manifest in India; hence, despite governmental effort in the control of population growth; India has not yet achieved similar success.

The result supports Feltstehausen's (1971) argument that the most serious theoretical problem results from the assumption that communication plays an independent role in affecting social change and behavior without an adequate test of such an assumption in developing countries or elsewhere. No one familiar with communication processes can be so ignorant as to regard communication as capable of initiating or maintaining the developmental processes alone.

Therefore, the question that should be asked is not whether Western models are adequate but whether social conditions are conducive for the adoption of any communication model. Clearly, the adequacy of any communication or modernization model is not dependent upon simply communication flow or the intrinsic virtue of the model, but is contingent upon other conditions for the successful implementation and adoption of the model.

Communication is a part of the social process, a part of governing, a part of modernization, a part of nation-building, and a part of mental activities. It is a creative force and an agent of change (Fisher, 1982,

P. 35). But developing countries and the industrialized nations have different approaches to development (Rogers, 1976). Arguing that communication models and systems adopted from the West are being increasingly untenable and unsuitable to the development of the Third World, Feltstehausen (1971) contended that communication theory is pulled further and further away from the reality confronting the major population groups in the Third World.

Whatever effects communication might have, are beyond the control of communication; that of course does not necessarily negate the studies of developmental communication diffusion. Therefore, functions and dysfunctions of communication in nation-building must be examined so as to provide guidelines for communication development for two reasons:

(a) MORE COMMUNICATION DYSFUNCTIONS ARE PRESENT IN DEVELOPED NATIONS THAN DEVELOPING NATIONS: HOWEVER, DEVELOPING NATIONS INVARIABLY BASE THEIR CHARGES OF "CULTURAL INVASION" OR "CULTURAL IMPERIALISM" ON COMMUNICATION DYSFUNCTIONS WHICH APPARENTLY HAVE NO RESPECT FOR NATIONAL OR CULTURAL BOUNDRIES.

(b) DEVELOPING NATIONS CAN AND SHOULD SELECT AND REFINE THE SUITABLE AND BENEFICIAL FEATURES AND ELIMINATE THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF WESTERN MODELS,--NO MODEL IS AS SACRED AS THE INDIAN COW--IN CONTRAST TO THE HAPHAZARD DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION IN THE WEST.

F. Communication Functions and Dysfunctions

Apart from structural approach and analyses, communication has been studied in terms of functional approach and analyses for the last fifty years. There is a wealth of studies based upon functional analysis, more than any other area or method of communication research. Functional analysis has been addressed to the studies of the communications effects upon the government, society, individuals, groups, organizations and

interpersonal relations, among others. A host of functions, many of which are overlapping or redundant, have been identified, tested, studied, experimented or speculated upon.

Not all functions of communication are positive or beneficial,-- thus, we have a number of communication dysfunctions as well. Dysfunctions refers to the undesirable, negative effects of communication upon the society or individual. But to compound the complexity of functional and dysfunctional studies, communication functions and dysfunctions are relative and comparative. A function that is benevolent for one person, one place or one society might be disastrous for another; likewise, a dysfunction that is undesirable for one person, one place or one society might be beneficial for another. Frequently, the same function can be both beneficial and baneful in the same setting at different time periods. As far as international communication is concerned, we shall attempt to concentrate on the communication dysfunctions,- on the assumption that the beneficial functions are well understood and recognized.

Table I

Dysfunctions of Mass Communications

Dysfunctions	Possible or Likely Ill-Effects	Propounders
Anxiety-Leader	Leading to heightened anxieties	Wright, 1960
Apathy-Increaser	Increasing political apathy by the magnitude, diversity and complexity of issues	Berelson, 1948
Bewilderment Producer	Producing bewilderment for the individual	Davison, 1965
Canalizer	Canalizing or railroading public's basic Attitude	Lazarsfeld & Merton 1960
Conformity/enforcer	Enforcing social conformity	*
Desensitizer	Desensitizing the people to the level of indifference	*
Dictator	Dictating public imagination, political action and even fashions	Lang & Lang, 1962
Distortor	Distorting realities	Roberts, 1971
Distrust/Disseminator	Disseminating political distrust	Lang & Lang, 1962
Escape Provider	Providing a means of escape	Davison, 1965
Excitement Supplier	Supplying excitement, e.g.,investigative reporting or sex and violence	Dennis, 1975

Dysfunctions	Possible or Likely Ill/Effects	Propounders
Fabricator	Fabricating news	Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1960
Frustration Riser	Raising frustration as a result of unfulfilled aspirations	Lerner, 1963
Gatekeeper	Subjective control of news dissemination	Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1960
Market Orientor	Orienting the people to consumption and the market place	Lerner, 1977
Minimizer	Minimizing political interest caused by entertainment and recreational content	Berelson, 1948
Modelizer	Modeling children's aggressive behavior	Bandura, et al.,1961
Mongrelizer	Mongrelizing national and economic priorities	Richstad & Sathre 1977
Monopolizer	Monopolizing information propaganda	Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1960
Narcotizer	Narcotizing the populace	Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1960
Panic Creator	Creating panics by uninterpreted warnings	Cantril, 1947; Wright, 1960
Political Socializer	Politicizing and socializing the populace	Hyman, 1963
Privatization Leader	Leading to privatization, overwhelming individual with data	Wright, 1960
Pseudo-Events Creator	Creating non-existing pseudo-events	Boorstin, 1961
Omittor	Omitting significant points	Roberts, 1971
Reallocator'	Reallocating time	Schramm & Roberts 1971
Status-Conferrer	Conferring social status	Lazarsfeld & Merton 1960
Threatener	Threatening the structure of the society with uncensored news	Wright, 1960
Underminer	Undermining authority, e.g., instant analysis	Paletz & Vinegar, 1977
Violence Teacher	Teaching violence	Siegel, 1969

By numerous authors

Never however, has too much attention been paid to communication dysfunctions, particularly the twain of rising expectations and rising frustrations. Many communications dysfunctions have been identified, but not extensively treated. On the social level, communication can be dysfunctional if uncensored news about the world potentially threatens the structure of any society, or if any uninterpreted warning about the

danger in the environment leads to panic by the masses, as witnessed in the case of the broadcast of the Invasion from Mars (Cantril, 1948,). Mass communication can lead to heightened anxieties, increased political apathy, panics, bewilderment, canalized public attitude, and so on as illustrated in Table One.

For all these dysfunctions, each and every one is ambivalent and ambiguous, in both developed and developing countries, even though more of them are identified in the developing countries. It must be noted that each dysfunction is related to some aspect of positive functions of communication, as no dysfunction or function of communication is independent of others. For example, the apathy-increasing functions for some people or in another setting. The anxiety-leading function can also be the motivating function, and so on. As far as the Third World nations are concerned, the primary concern is to maximize the positive functions and to minimize the dysfunctions, if any.

II. Immunization as a Feasible Solution

From the vantage point of any Third World nation, communication problems confronting the Third World nations are monumental. Not only contents but the whole process of communication is under alien control, i.e., news gathering/dissemination, movie and TV production/broadcast, and even ownership of media in many Third World nations. The extraordinary speed of technological advance in communication compounds all the problems the Third World faces. The increasing reliance upon industrial nations for technology and communication proportionately increases hostility of many Third World intellectuals. The West, partic-

ularly the United States, has been under attack in almost all Unesco conferences on communication and from all quarters for its monopolization in communication, media, and technology. Not every accusation thrown at the United States is entirely without merits, for example, sensationalized, biased or distorted reports on Third World nations, and monopoly of communication, technology and the means of dissemination, among others.

What can the Third World do? Very little, However, it is far from being hopeless.

Each culture, just like each living being, has its built-in immunity. Each culture assimilates or rejects foreign elements, similar to the immunological system of living organism and just as mysterious. For no one has yet found out how medical immunological systems work, nor does anyone know how immunological systems work in cross-cultural communication. However, this much is known: communication exposure introduces and fortifies communication innoculation.

Immunization can very well be categorized into two classes: natural and deliberate. Natural communication immunization may be defined as the education and enlightenment of people with diversified information, often controversial and conflicting in nature over a long period of time, whereas deliberate communication immunization can be the deliberate administration of specific innoculation against communication dysfunctions. Generally, deliberate immunization aims at the reduction, prevention or even elimination of the effects of communication dysfunction (Hsia, 1969).

Natural immunization can be exemplified by a newborn baby. A newborn has no immunity of its own against any germs, but fortunately it inherits from its mother the antibodies to provide sufficient immunity against most of the household germs. Likewise, a culture does inherit from its tradi-

tion sufficient antibodies to protect it from cultural invasions or infiltrations,- try to convert a Chinese to eat blue cheese or to entice an American to taste the Vietnamese fish sauce. A newborn on the other hand, acquires immunity gradually and naturally without being conscious of its acquiring immunity. When it is about six months old with its inherited antibodies gradually worn off, it has accumulatively acquired immunity of its own, to enable its survival in the germ-infested environment. When infused with an alien culture an endogenous culture with its built-in cultural immunity is not at the mercy of the invading culture. As has been expounded previously, India still retains its culture, Egypt still keeps its own, and so on. Each culture, regardless of how weak it is when confronting an alien culture, never succombs to the alien culture because a culture is generally more dynamic and healthy than communication scholars ever give it credit. Japan still is Japanese, despite more than a thousand years of Sinocization and more than a hundred years of Westernization in recent history. In fact, the endogenous culture absorbs what is compatible and discards what is incompatible from an alien culture, as much as the human body accepts or rejects a transplanted organ. China has been invaded numerous times in the last three thousand years, but China is eternal China as far as Chinese culture is concerned.

Natural immunization does not preclude a baby from getting necessary vaccinations and innoculations against a host of diseases. Likewise, an invaded culture may gradually acquire immunity against cultural invasions of all sorts. Thus, deliberate immunization in communication may be planned and administrated in assuring the health and survival of an endogenous culture. The survival of a native culture in its encounter with an alien culture lies in the adaptation rather than adoption. No

alien culture, regardless of the impetus of a native culture to modernization has been ever assimilated without modification. Thus, optimal control must be exercised, not to impede the flow of communication or infringe on the freedom of communication, but to neutralize communication dysfunctions. To exercise control, optimal expectation must be determined first.

a. Determination of an Optimum "Dosage of Expectation"

Too much expectation may lead to frustration which in turn may lead to aggression and regression as Lerner repeatedly exhorted. Too little expectation may be insufficient to motivate the upward mobilization necessary for modernization. In view of the revolution of rising frustrations resulting from the fulfilled expectation, Lerner asked the question: Can we determine an optimum "dosage of expectation" for a sick society as a physician does for an individual patient (Lerner, 1973)? One may take exception to the phrase "sick society" because a developing society in a traumatic transition is only a growing society, not a sick society, even though growing is painful. The optimum dosage of expectation may be the right prescription. A balanced diet and proper exercise are prerequisites for a growing and healthy baby; an optimum input of information in addition to proper control is essentially the formula for communication development. The appropriate communication policy, as Lerner put it, is to monitor any course it sets in such ways as to maximize benefits and minimize losses (Lerner, 1977). But no one has yet explored "such ways." In order to accomplish both maximization of benefits and minimization of losses (or frustrations), the only feasible ways are to undergo a rigorous selection of both media and contents.

1. Selection of Media

Right after World War II, every nation, newly independent or war-devastated, desired and built steel plants, oblivious to their applicability and profitability. Another international fad was to fly a national airlines and/or to join the exclusive nuclear club, irrespective of its operational cost and consequences. For international prestige and honor, no nation,it seems, could exist without an international airline. Likewise, television, particularly color television, is seen as a sign of progress and modernization. A nation must have a color television network--generally a cause for the importation of TV programs and commercials and for the often heard complaints of "cultural invasions."

Media in the advanced nations have reached the saturation point where no one is denied access to any medium. In the Third World nations, illiteracy is still a formidable barrier for print media, thus education must be popularized before print media could be instrumental in modernization. The cost to popularize television, particularly color television, is almost prohibitive for many Third World nations. Before a nation is to implement any national communication policy, a few factors such as literacy, cost, technology, professionalism, and their tradeoff point for any medium must be ascertained. If Ecuador and India are used as an example, radio seems to be a tailor-made medium for the Third World nations because radio is accessible to a far larger proportion of people than newspaper and television, especially among women (Simmons, Kent, & Mishra, 1968). Radio may be chosen and emphasized for two additional reasons: no literacy is necessary and no prohibitive cost is involved. Newspapers, magazines, and television may be developed in pace with industrial and economic development so as not to burden the economy with glamorous, investment-heavy

projects. Admittedly, color television is preferred to black/white television, which in turn is preferred to radio. It fits Lerner's scheme to promote an international policy to promote the worldwide distribution of low-cost communication technologies to countries that want them but cannot pay the present high costs for them to participate in international flows and to construct indigenous program alternatives where existing international flows do not meet their needs (Lerner, 1977). As usual, Lerner neglected to mention what low-cost communication technologies were and who would underwrite the low cost. Radio seems to be the only low-cost device that the people of a Third World nation could afford: it is inexpensive, reliable, rugged, and in need of no sophisticated operating personnel (Pool, 1977). A battery-powered pocket radio receiver is not beyond the means of the majority of the Third World peoples, and a radio transmission station is an affordable item for the Third World governments or private enterprises. Other viable alternatives are the wall papers as popularized in Beijing (Peking). Whatever mass media available might be used to feed the information to the interpersonal communication network, relatives, friends, and co-workers who have access to media and other information sources to relay important information to the people. This would be a makeshift answer for the initial stage of communication development.

Generally, an indigenous problem needs an indigenous answer. To achieve the goal of adequate information dissemination is not as difficult as it has been imagined. Grapevine communication has existed for thousands of years. Even with limited resource in a developing society there is hardly any problem in disseminating necessary information. Thus, the objective in communication policy is not the quantity but the quality of information. To assure the quality of information it is necessary to devise a selection mechanism for dissemination.

2. Selection of Programs and News Contents

Selections is not the denial or abridgement of communication freedom just as a food selection for a newborn baby who is given a certain kind of food but denied some other kind. Hence, in addition to Parker's (1977) four dimensions of information choices--to strike a balance between information versus capital investment, infrastructure versus project, national versus regional development, and urban versus rural development, programming should be included.

"Bonanza," "Gunsmoke," and "I Love Lucy" are among other exhibits the Third World nations presented in their charges against monopolization and cultural dominance to the World Court of Public Opinion. Such programs may not be appropriate for the nation whose people have not yet been adequately sheltered, fed, and clothed, as they bring about narcotization or escapism. But they also provide catharsis for the people to cope with tension and pressure, - The Japanese movie industry even produced Japanese westerns for the Japanese western affectionate; and on the other hand, who among the Third World peoples would not feel superior to the inept accident-prone Lucy?

Each country, irrespective of its development stage, does have adequate mechanisms to screen television, movies, and other information. Not only do governmental agencies monitor program contents and exercise control, directly and indirectly, over selected television and movie but media and TV/movie distributors screen contents and programming. Control, of course, is a form of censorship, an infringement upon the freedom of information; however, the government, as well as the media industry, does have the right to exercise selective control and to protect the endogenous culture, particulary when the program content is contrary to the best national interest. That "Deep Throat" can only be shown in a few places in the

United States is a case in point. Whether its banning is a violation of the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution is a debatable question. But selection as a form of control must be implemented in such a way as not to infringe upon the free flow of information.

3. Control

No Third World governments have been willing to tolerate any unrestricted flow of internation communication or to surrender what they regard as their prerogative to determine the controls that will be placed on such flow (Richstad & Sathre, 1977). Far from being a unique phenomenon in the Third World, Western countries likewise exercise varying degrees of control over broadcasting media, too. The U.S. Government, probably the least authoritarian of all governments, indirectly controls broadcast media in licensing and license renewal. Control, enforced with enlightenment, can be beneficial even though government control of mass media in the Western nations is regarded as one of the anathemas. However, control might be one of the necessities for developing nations. Control exercised by government is based upon several disputable assumptions: (1) Control, albeit hated by almost all journalists, is said to extend protection to the indigenous culture and tradition that might, otherwise, become the endangered species. Whenever a weak culture comes into contact with a dominant culture, invariably the weak culture becomes the victim or is assimilated and totally absorbed. (2) Government control, usually rationalized on both political and economic grounds (Mowlana, 1977), regulates the optimal flow of information, and thus administers an optimal dosage of expectation sufficient to propel upward motivation but not enough to generate widespread frustration caused by unfulfilled expectations. (3) Privately-owned media and trade associations cannot be entrusted with the tasks of regulating the flow, and keeping the content and programs harmonious to the national

aspiration and the goals of industrialization. None of these assumptions have been substantiated; but, of course, none of the reverses have been validated, either.

No society today has ever lost its identity, dignity, or unity through cultural contacts with an alien culture, English is still used in India, Pakistan, Nigeria, and almost all former English colonies; likewise, French is used in almost all her former colonies. English has enhanced, for example, Indian and Nigerian cultures, and unified both peoples' languages and dialects. One may hasten to add it was true even in the old times. The Japanese, Koreans, and Vietnamese certainly had not lost their identities as the result of cultural infusion from China; the Korean, Japanese and Vietnamese cultures are distinctively Korean, Japanese and Vietnamese, in spite of the Chinese influence. Even American Indians and Eskimos who have been losing ground continuously for the last two hundred years have managed a comeback. China deliberately and systematically had attempted to rid herself of any foreign influence from time to time. A recent manifestation was the attempts made during the Great Cultural Revolution. The pendulum has swayed the other way now: China begins again, like a sponge, as one trade journal described it, absorbing foreign ideas, technology, and inventions.

Control, however, must be differentiated from exclusion. Exclusion, no matter how rigidly it is enforced, is futile. Otherwise, disco music would not have been heard in Moscow. Exclusion is also counterproductive. Wherever exclusion is exercised, not only are human rights and human dignity eroded but industrial and economic development is retarded. Again the Chinese Great Cultural Revolution is a case in point; the whole educational system was disintegrated, science and technology regressed and a whole generation wasted. No nation or society has ever succeeded over a long

period of time in setting up barricades to fend off communication.

As has been repeatedly mentioned, a culture can flourish only when cross-pollinated and cross-fertilized. The North American culture (instead of American culture in deference to Latin American cultures) has enriched itself unceasingly with alien cultures. Should any country complain about "cultural invasions," "cultural imperialism," or "cultural dominance," the United States should be the one.

Governmental control to regulate the flow of information and hence expectations is tantamount to regulate desire--even though communication can be strictly regulated. The Soviet Union, one of the tightest controlled countries, has not found a way of reducing the expectations of the people for a better life. Could any country succeed where the Soviet Union had failed?

The only feasible communication control that still allows free flow of information is the self-control imposed by the media professionals, without interference from government or the party in power.

4. Professionalism

It is germane to cite the recommendations made by the Council on Higher Education in the American Republics (1970):

1. The universities should regard journalism and mass communication as a profession no less important to the health of a society than medicine, law and engineering...
2. The mass media should strive to make the communication of news and comment a professional career with a level of education and pay that matches the importance of the tasks that today's journalists are expected to perform.
3. In this new decade, the International Center for Higher Studies in Journalism for Latin America should shift its emphasis from

promotion of more schools of journalism to the training of better qualified teachers.

It is, however, essential to add: not only universities but governments also should consider communication as a profession at the level of medicine, law, and engineering. Furthermore, journalism and communication schools/departments might have to look at communication and journalism from the vantage point of the society and economic progress as a whole instead of that of the information disseminator. Journalists, broadcasters and other practitioners in communication should be concerned with not only news-gathering, objective analysis, and impartial presentations, but the EFFECTS of their communication efforts upon the society; therefore, they must evaluate their task and labor in terms of functions and dysfunctions upon the readers and audience. Only by initiating and maintaining such a practice can the threat of government control and interferences be eliminated and free flow of information and freedom of the press assured. However, some argued that the traditional concept of free flow of information needs to be complemented by that of a more balanced and objective flow, both within and between regions--for all countries to participate in the flow of information on a free and equal footing, as suggested by the General Conference of UNESCO in its Medium Terms Plan for 1977-1982 (Varis, 1974). The question is how the flow of information can be based upon equal footing. Working toward a new international order in international communication, national news services, together with the non-aligned pool of news, was advocated to improve the amount and presentation of news from developing nations in the Western Press (Ivacic, 1978). A national news service, together with non-aligned pools of news agencies,

may be adequate to provide limited sources of news; however, no national news services or non-aligned newspools have the economic and professional resources to cover the world and to compete with global news wholesalers (Boydt-Barrett, 1977). Furthermore, whether Western media would subscribe to such newspools and whether Western media would publish or broadcast information supplied by national news services from the Third World countries are problems not yet contemplated, not to say solved. Improving the amount and presentation of news from developing nations in the Western media is necessary to create a better atmosphere of communication; however, news coverage is generated by news interests; the more interest it commands, the more news it generates, and also positively correlated with the significance and saliency of the news. It is questionable whether the Third World newspool could command more attention, gain wider coverage, and secure more member nations than has been the case.

There is no more reason to expect every American or Frenchman to know about Nigeria or Niger than to hope every Thai or Iranian would know about Texas or Florida. The entire endeavor of newspooling to obtain better coverage of the Third World nations might be bound to fail.

Despite accusations and charges, no possible indictment can be returned against communication media or communication industries in the Western world, but it does not mean that there is no room for drastic improvement. Many media practitioners and communications experts apparently overlooked the fact that any programs or information crossing international boundaries fulfill certain information needs and are subject to the gatekeeping control of a succession of controllers, censors, editors, publishers and translators. The gatekeepers of national media may translate any AP

or Reuter dispatch in a manner consistent with the national and media policy; and television networks or stations may keep out "Charlie's Angels," "Kojak," or "Three's Company," if it is to their national interest. Any impact of "alien communication" or "cultural invasion" could be and often is neutralized.

The gatekeepers (foreign correspondents, telegraph editors, copy writers, wire services, program directors, among other) are one of the basic problems for the Third World (McNelly, 1979). But they can and should be the buffer against the cultural shocks, capable of reducing the penetration and magnitude of "cultural invasions" or of "harmonizing" cultural invasion with native culture.

5. Satiation and Inhibition

Just to play the role of the devil's advocate, suppose the gatekeepers cannot keep the floodgate of communication. "Cultural invasion" becomes a tidal wave and the endogenous culture is in danger of being extinguished. Then what could one propose to do? Such a scenario is quite impossible as any communication must aim at potential recipients who can avoid, reject, or ignore the unwanted information as contrasted to the fact that no one can ignore or reject a tidal wave.

Fortunately, a usually overlooked communication phenomenon would probably solve the problem. To use a hypothetical situation again, let us say, a Third World nation exercises no control whatsoever, and as a result any violence and sex TV/movie programs and other communication are available to its nationals. What then would happen? Satiation!

Satiation theory is nothing new in psychology and psycho-linguistics. Its theoretical essence is simple but elegant: Any stimulus tends to elicit less and less response as it is exposed more and more. It was first dis-

covered when the meaning of a familiar monosyllabic noun repeated aloud, that is, repetition can lead to a decline in meaning (Basette & Warne, 1919). Continued exposure of a stimulus tends to reduce its effectiveness (Smith & Raygor, 1956; Fillenbaum, 1957). Coincidental evidence also shows the existence of satiation on pornography and violence programs. For instance, the decrease in the Copenhagen sex crime rate coincided with the Danish Parliament's removal of all restrictions on the distribution of erotic materials (Ben-Veniste, 1970), and the higher exposure rate for the younger people (Zetterberg, 1970). Such a satiation effect for which no cause could be pinpointed is generally found (Fuchs & Lyle, 1972). Considering the cyclical favorites of Western, disaster, horror, love, Biblical and Situation TV programs and movies, the existence of satiation is irrefutable Satiation theory can be integrated into communication immunization theory as well; if one survives in a germ-infested environment, he gradually acquires immunity. In communication, a society exercises natural control over the content and volume of imported information because of satiation and immunization. Governmental control more often than not can be obviated.

IV. Conclusion

Early work on the effects of communications indicating that communication has only reinforcing effects, and current studies on communications exploring numerous communication functions both left a lot to be desired. Mass media may not be able to change attitudes immediately, but only to reinforce existing social norms and values. Substantial evidence has shown the contrary: media tend to have incremental, cumulative, continuous effect upon attitude, perception, and behavior. Despite media and advertising

professionals' proclivity to demonstrate or imply the effectiveness of media as exemplified in "the medium is the message," media never have been omnipotent.

Media cannot exist in a vacuum and media effects are closely interwoven into the economic, social, and political fabrics of a society; therefore, no aspect of communication can be studied in isolation. Communication grows until it reaches the saturation point, subject to a host of constraints determine the speed of growth but not the direction of the growth. Communication growth may be retarded by political suppression and economic considerations, but cannot be stopped. Exclusion in whatever form is counterproductive. In order to maximize positive communication functions contributory to nation-building, and to minimize its dysfunctions, some guidelines for the communication growth must be formalized.

Such guidelines must be empirically tested and then put into practice. It is imperative to examine many related problems, particularly related to communication to and from developing nations and problems associated with media and communication. Every problem seems to be, and is, a dilemma. While the Third World nations desire an enormous input of information in technology, science, and entertainment from the advanced nations but lack much exportable output information, this creates an imbalance of international communication. Developing nations also desire to create a momentum in motivation, a necessary force for modernization. But cultural mongrelization and rising expectation may also result. The enormous disparity in international communication inevitably arouses ethnocentrism that in general is counterproductive to modernization and freedom of information. As the results of the inequality between input and output, cries of cultural invasions, cultural colonization

and cultural imperialism have been heard often; the Third World nations are inclined to reject communication models and systems developed in the Western world with no regard to the possible modification of models and systems to suit the needs of a particular society. Finally, it seems that developing nations subscribe to the viewpoints of either communication impotence or communication omnipotence. Both viewpoints are extreme. A possible solution to all these problems can be found in the minute examination of communication functions and dysfunctions, prior to the planning of national communication strategy and policy. Whether it is based upon a Western model or not is irrelevant, but whether it could protect an indigenous culture without suppressing freedom of information is essential.

Communication functions and dysfunctions are relative and comparative. For example, cultural mongrelization may arouse sufficient motivation for industrialization but can also bring about disastrous frustration. Too much information creates confusion as well as political anomie and too little information causes information deprivation. Too much entertainment narcotizes the population, and too little entertainment provides no outlet for pent-up tension. The communication policy-makers must maintain a delicate balance.

The balance can be achieved by neither resorting to the exclusion of any alien communication, nor by relying upon rigid control such as censoring or government ownership of media. It must be a judicious application of communication immunization theory. If in doubt, follow the procedure of natural immunization--BY DOING NOTHING. Substantiated or not, THERE IS AN INVISIBLE HAND IN COMMUNICATION.

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